Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

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Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okuń) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abǒ'm, bǒ'me IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezǐzə̄'ń), and poison (nsǔ). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bǒ'me o sī = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abǒ'm from a bǒ'm, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

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[435]
[824]
[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

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777 conceptions developed in connection with the veneration of
751 ancestors, concerning the influence of the ancestors, who live where Nsambe does, on the terrestrial well-being of their
754 descendants. The most important of the medicines for wealth,
777 atum or aseb, that is, the Mekuk medicine, is based on the ideas of sorcery which I discussed in the previous section /Ed., not translated/. The skulls needed for the ancestor cult are not in
[169] this case those from relatives who died a natural death, but from those who were murdered secretly by sorcery (poisoning). Each biăn akū'ma, therefore, is a nsŏm, a sin. The murder victims, or rather their souls, are called mekūk (1). A person who keeps
[826]

1. Etymologically related to nkŭk, "upper part of the body." Perhaps we have here an intentional circumlocution, because the Pangwe like to avoid the real designation for their mesŏm (sins).

the skulls in order to acquire wealth is called e mōde a bĕlĕ mekūk (= e mōde a n'a mekūk), that is, the man who has the Mekuk. I have known a Mekuk man who had no less than ten skulls of his murdered relatives in his house. In addition, the Mekuk man possesses magical devices which he sells on request together with the skulls in exchange for an excessive payment from people who themselves want to become Mekuk men. The latter are of course only sorcerers, that is, people who -- as was said in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ -- receive the power to practice sorcery in their youth through a medicine, but who perhaps until then had not yet used their power and now want to train themselves in the specialized field of Mekuk medicine. For this purpose, their teacher demands that they murder a close relative, usually a father or mother, and bring him the skull. He himself will give them in exchange an older /150/ skull from his own collection and in addition frequently the back bones. The first
[608] skull of a Mekuk collection is therefore one of a stranger and has already been effective as a medicine. It is not an actual ancestral

832 days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained. [824] These are bark, scraped off the Anonacea Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fǒb IV) and the Olacacea avǒm, and a small elephant's [825] tooth[1] into which are put the following /159/ things.

1. The most important is the larynx (engǒ^{n}) of a famous [826] singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engǒnežǒk was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (žǒk) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engongeschok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

3. The bones of an albino (mvēī-mōt), preferred by women [826] because of the skin color (1).

1. Opinions concerning an albino vary [154] a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

5. Fulgurites (abī'-zǎ'lǎn), so the love will be as powerful [821] as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. nšŭ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

[1] [or possibly "tusk"; see figure 55, page 26.--Analyst]

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life, [822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

832 769 Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals [826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./

832 783 [415] On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick, [388] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of [824] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (edūm), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

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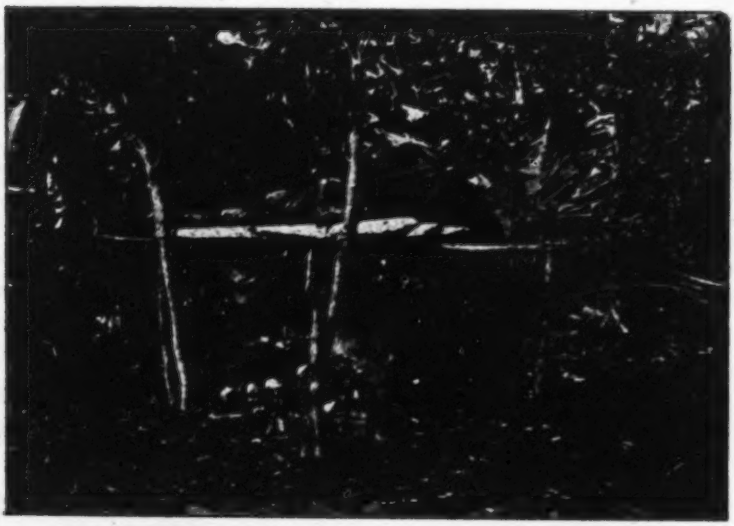

Fig. 58. Love Medicine Feast, engongeschok. A number of young men have themselves fumigated over a fire in which love medicines are burned. Ancestral skulls are in the background. Ebăangon (Esseng family).

ones as rapidly as possible. The aim is to purify oneself and through the external purification to bring about an inner one so that the beloved girl will see her suitor pure, white as the leaves of Abutilon, and then love him. Whether the desired effect is achieved, I must confess I do not know; externally, at any rate, the favorable effect of the water cannot be denied. The foam is intended to cause the girl's heart to "open up" in the same way. This ablution may also be undertaken at times other than at the love festival, for instance, when a person has his eye on a certain girl, but in that case, the nails, [826] head hair, pubic hair, and underarm hair of this girl must also be put in the vessel. /163/

While the ablution was still going on, two people ran down 832 the village square and threw the civet skin back and forth to 526 each other, crossing each other's paths as they ran. People amused themselves with a similar ball game, whose significance I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

769 The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
224 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
826 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekī]ă', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again [262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

721 In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
789 tion which is called aṅgūṅgu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus [825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwŭ,ṅ), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles, [824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afă'ne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
226 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

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278 For back aches Erythrophloeum guineense (elũn) and the Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata (esɔ̃ mɔ̃ Fang) are used. The bark of the Erythrophloeum is heated and laid on a bed on which the patient lies down. The bark of the Gaertnera is cut up into small pieces and is put into a larger piece of bark of the same plant; the patient must lie down with his back on it. For organic /181/ heart disease (nnǎ nnem "pains in the heart"), an extract of the [826] bark of Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edžɔ̃'le) is drunk; for mental [829] disorders, which are also supposed to come from the heart (okɔ̌n nnem), 10 different medicines have been mentioned to me. By acquiring the particular property of the plant, the heart is supposed to be put to sleep and made dark and small. I have further collected: 21 medicines for headache; four for lung disease (sɔ̌); nine for the cold; 56 for stomach and intestinal disorders; 54 for toothaches; 47 for rheumatic pains (nnǎ and nnǎ-nkũk); 23 for stomach-aches when twitching pains occur (nnǎ-abũm); and five for hemorrhoids, among them especially the Cucurbitacea Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch. (ejažũ'm).

For eye inflammations, ground leaves of the Rubiacea Chasalia macrodiscus K. Sch. (dži a ndžik III) or bark scraped off the Euphorbiacea Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efũɔ̌'le, dži III) are put in a leaf bag, a little water is added, and the extract flowing out at the bottom is dropped into the eye. The same process is carried out with ground leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa (nsi's ǎ III) as a remedy for sties.

To get rid of eye worms (eyǎ'), the sap of the following plants is used: Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f., Convolvulacea (atũ't k] e ndžik); Diodia breviseta Benth, Rubiacea (dɛmezɔ̌ III); Gabunia brachypoda Stpf., Apocynacea (etũe' ndžik); Phaseolus lunatus L. (okɔ̌kũnɔ̌ III).

The Negro's indifference toward sand lice, Sarcopsylla penetrans (ašɔ̌), is well known; the Pangwe, too, neglect sand lice wounds and do not use medicine until half the toe is festered. Then ground leaves of Phytolacca abyssinica Hoffmann (atɔ̌t e nkɔ̌), ground leaves of Ocimum gratissimum L. (asɔ̌'b) mixed with oil, or bark shavings of the Euphorbiacea Neoboutonia africana Muell. Arg. (okɔ̌'jɔ̃m) mixed with oil are placed on the wounds, and after a few days the

751 A preventive device consists of a brass ring worn on the left thumb, the ring having first been given curative powers by the medicine man through certain ceremonies, for instance, by boiling it in medicines.

752 278 If someone is stung by a scorpion, his urine is applied to the spot, something that the Pangwe ordinarily do not do with wounds. Later, they attempt to dispel the morbid matter by evil smells; [826] for instance, a leaf with vaginal slime is placed on the wound. The explanation by the informant ran as follows in the best coastal English (1):

[124]

> 1. In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be emphasized that my Pangwe people gave their reports in their own language, but that their statements were checked with the help of an English-speaking interpreter.

Bumbo	be	bad	ting,		dem smell,	he
Vagina	is	bad	thing,	(namely,)	the smell,	it

come de!
comes out.

An injured foot is put in water in which stalks of Palisota preussiana (epfúpfū́ɲ) have been pounded to bits, or heated leaves of the calabash (ndǒk IV), together with oil, are rubbed on the injury, "because the calabash has a bad smell."

The very painful puncture made by the spiny-finned sheatfish (kō'mešūm IV), for instance, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) (nsǰń I) pictured on Plate 9 of Volume I, for whose dorsal /183/ spikes the fisherman has great respect, is made harmless by tying a rope tightly around the arm and then holding the spot over the fire.

The Pangwe combat wasp and bee stings with Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǒ'medzǎ'ń).

Bullets, that is, the pieces of iron with which the rifle is loaded and which, due to the aimless firing practiced by the Pangwe

857 something to do near the village, and when he has gone they call to him, "endele o o o...", and he answers, "o yo o o o mur e mur a ne e nzine bekun nlu si mebo yo mura kue a ba a muge nie a nu" (there is a big man on the road, a phantom with his head down and his feet up and a red mouth). Endele keeps answering until he has done what was asked of him. Usually he comes back before this from fear of the phantom of which he speaks and which he thinks he sees.

892 Puberty, Adolescence. Puberty occasions no ceremony, but from then on the child has the right to eat the take of his hunting and fishing, which was formerly forbidden him. This prohibition is called eki wo.

304 Circumcision is done either before or after puberty. It is an operation which is usually performed for many children at a time, and takes place in the early morning. The operator (nkir) comes to the village without the children's being told, and the fathers who wish their sons circumcised watch them so they do not run away. The children are led behind a hut where pieces of red wood have been prepared. [87] A hole is made in the ground, and the pieces of red wood are put in it and set on fire. Each child sits on the stump of a banana tree. The operator uses a well-sharpened razor. Before the operation he fills his mouth with seeds of wild pimento which he chews. He takes the foreskin of the child in his left hand, pulls it, makes a mark on it with his nail at the place where he will cut. The father of the child sees whether the cut piece will be of the desired size, and if he agrees the operator slices the foreskin with one stroke of the razor and spits the pimento, which he has in his mouth, onto the wound. Then he says, "fam e ne e saġa e saġa saġ mi saġ nkūi," an obscene expression which it is impossible to translate here. The circumcised child goes and sits near the fire of red wood. The foreskin is placed on top of a banana tree, [762] whose fruit is cooked and eaten by men only. The circumcision is an occasion for rejoicing; it is done so that the children will not die ●[826] and also to remove the foreskin which keeps a man from being strong.

304 Female circumcision is never practiced any more. It was formerly 681 done to married women of notoriously bad conduct in order to punish them. The woman was fastened to two stakes in the village square. The clitoris was removed by the man who did the circumcising and was then attached by a thread and put around the neck of the woman, who had to keep it that way for several days to her great shame. The

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superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: Ngôtô Zambe (Rev. Good), Mendômô (Hauptmann von Hagen), Akôk (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by a red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across

1. Bertaut gives the names as mot yom and nga medja or ngan meja. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from môt (Fang, môr, mur) = person; ngan = crocodile; ja'é (Boulou) dzak, dzaghé (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; yom = to beg, to implore.

the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

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Osoe Nnanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death; ghosts (bekôn) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi. Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (man), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

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Tribe	Height		Cephalic Index		Trunk Index /Indice cormique/	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	above average		76.7	76.3	?	?
Eton	167.8	157.9	76.2	76.4	60.8	51.0
Ewôndo	168.4	158.6	77.0	77.6	50.5	50.4
Boulou	165.4	157.6	77.8	79.2	51.2	52.2
Fang	above average		77.0	76.6	51.2	50.9

[143]

Tribe	Blood Group (in %)					Facial Index		Width/Height /Envergure s/taille/	
	O	A	B	AB	Index	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	52	21.9	10.9	15.2	1.44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55.7	13.8	17.5	12.9	0.878	85.1	84.2	104.4	102.5
Ewôndo	55.5	14.1	17.4	11.5	0.885	85.7	85.6	105.3	104.0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86.5	85.1	103.7	102.9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83.2	87.0	105.3	103.4

It is inevitable, in any case, that a population of this numerical size should present fairly obvious extreme variations, but my own observation, also subjective, thrown into relief a larger proportion of short and very short persons than of tall and very tall: interbreeding [144] with Pygmies (the Bekoé ayoñ especially) would explain this to a great extent. The Beti in the north, who have had much less contact with Pygmies, seem taller and slenderer.

142 The group as a whole may be considered mesocephalic with a /85/ [145] slight tendency to dolichocephaly (1), with not very obvious Negroid

304 856

1. Midwives, bebialé binga, still continue the practice of shaping newborn skulls by lengthening. On the other hand, the custom of binding babies' heads with a bark band is dying out.

facial traits, rather light chocolate brown skin, although some groups have a reddish tinge to the skin and green eyes (the Ndoñ ayoñ of [143] Sangmélima). Pectoral hair is common. There is fairly common 211 albinism, some polydactylism (the subjects are supposedly sorcerers).

limited to a vegetarian diet without salt or spices, to "freshen the blood." They received sexual instruction from the ngengañ, diviner-healer, who performed the operation, while the elders, mintôl, examined /the boys/ in knowledge of the mebatan, "salutations" or genealogies: in actual fact circumcision ended the prohibition against coition by showing the danger of involuntary incest in case relationships were not well understood. Women were not allowed to be present at the operation, which the ngengañ performed with a special razor, cauterizing the wound with a pimento decoction. A boy was held by his father, who pronounced the formula that lifted the taboo against coition. The foreskin was usually buried under a tree, perhaps a banana, perhaps a tree indicated by clan or lineage tradition, perhaps chosen, if we accept Trilles, for totemic reasons. Sometimes the foreskin was preserved for magic use. While the scar was healing, the circumcised boy could wear only a special vegetable breechcloth which was renewed daily; during this time no woman was supposed to speak to him or to touch him or his breechcloth; this he took advantage of so as to steal food and various things. /96/ Once the scar had healed, he could no longer appear in public naked. This whole /procedure/ is only partly followed at the present time; furthermore, since the time for the operation has been generally made earlier, circumcised boys who have not yet reached puberty (1) are often

1. A Protestant Ntoumou chief in Ambam told me that he had had his children circumcised earlier so as to be able to send them to the district school without running the risk of their breaking the sexual and food taboos of the uncircumcised when away from his supervision.

seen going about nude in villages. According to Trilles and Largeau, in the past some youths remained uncircumcised, minsôsôl, until they had killed their first enemy. At the present time all youths are circumcised, even Christians; the missions have only rarely tried to oppose the practice and always unsuccessfully.

After circumcision the ndôman was able to have sexual relations and eat certain foods prohibited before. He went to live with other

177 764 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a nkat foé (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with baa; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In [795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 177 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. Enyiñ, life, comes from the verb nyiñ meaning "to survive" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static to, tabe = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 774 The body, nyul or nyôl, is perishable and corruptible; it supports the other elements of the personality, above all the nsisim or nsisiñ,

the shadow or immaterial duplicate of the body. The heart and lungs, nlem, are the seat of the intellect and sensibility, especially of the consciousness of good and evil, the seat of the moral and mental personality. It is by way of the nlem that a person's mind is struck, that, for instance, he is made mad; through their évur the beyem do di nlem, eat the nlem, of their victims. The nlem for a time survives death; the nsisim seems to be immortal. Breath, avebe (from vebe, to breathe, derived from vee = to be alive, alert) is characteristic of physiological life (1).

> 1. Among the Ewôndo, the breath, ewundu (Boulou, evunulu = wind) is characteristic of the human being, as is nsisim; animals are not provided with either, that is why they can be eaten. (J. B.)

Strength, tye, tyi, kie, or ki, is somehow external to the individual, independent of him, yet that which insures the cohesion of the elements of the personality. It seems to be particularly localized in the nlem (thoracic organs) and the boo, brain, which is evidently the seat of action (the verb bo = to do, to act), whence the importance of skulls in the ancestral cult, biéti. Ngul, which may also be translated "strength," is more "capacity" or "power," the faculty of making use of tyi. It is impersonal, it pre-exists and survives the individual, who during his lifetime can waste or augment it; it is the basis for magic and sorcery, tyi being in itself neither good nor bad. Everything that exists possesses tyi, including the dead, but living beings possess more than inanimate beings, and men more than other living beings. Sacrifices and prohibitions revalue around this notion, as vocabulary well shows: éryi = prohibition, metyi = blood, atyi = egg, tyik = to cut, to kill, to command, etc., (cf. above p. 25). The dead keep a certain amount of strength, which makes them at the same time potentially dangerous and potentially usable.

A name, jôé, jui, also pre-exists and survives the person it distinguishes, whence the special ties between bemôé /105/, homonymns, and also the need to know a person's name in order to cast a spell upon him, etc. A dead man keeps his name until it is given to one

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôtô of succeeding generations. A full biéri basket was the sign of a group's [554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

[826] Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stôlen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the éwolé biéti and [783] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya môtô age he had to learn to recognize 869 his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion 881 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, [276] then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the éwolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of 614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis- 114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The face is oval in form.[1] The average nose is of the negroid type (short, broad, nearly straight), Fig. 7, Topinard; or the Australoid or Papuan (broad, with the lower part forming a flattened and depressed hook), Fig. 8, Topinard's scale. The skull is thick and strong. Very often the brows are depressed deeply, the cheek bones are prominent, and at the angle of the inferior maxillary bone there is an inclination to bulging outward. The alæ nasi are broad and thick, and the nasal bridge often much depressed giving the typical, flat, turned up nose of the negro. Yet I have observed among the Fang some handsome aquiline noses, and quite frequently the Australoid or Papuan type. I have frequently noticed that the possessors of the aquiline, or Australoid type of nose, showed a higher degree of intelligence and a more genuine desire to learn "the white man's ways." 142

The ears are large and well developed, inclined to spread outward and having broad thick lobes. The teeth are good and symmetrical; Fang men and women file the upper and lower incisors to a fine point and give as their reason for so doing, that it is *mbung* (beautiful). The head of an average Fang male sits well on the shoulders, the neck is strong and muscular, the "Adam's apple" is not highly developed. Very little attention is given to the cultivation of hair on the upper lip. [304] [826]

The breasts of Fang women are very pendulous after bearing children; and in some cases the breasts in males are very highly developed (photo on screen).

The muscles of the arms, back, buttocks and thighs are often splendidly developed, far more so than in the Mpôngwe, Mabeya and many other West African tribes. The Mpôngwes are rapidly degenerating. In the male Fang the gluteal muscles are not highly developed. The gluteal muscles in the female are often developed to a very high degree, measuring round from 36½ inches to 39½ inches.

Fifteen Fang males were measured and averaged as follows: [141]

Height 5 feet 9 inches.
Chin to pubes 27½ inches.
Pubes to inner malleolus 32½ inches.
Inner malleolus to tip of great toe 8½ inches.
Shoulder to wrist 24½ inches.
Wrist to point of index finger 8½ inches.

In males the thumb is long and broad in the terminal phalanx; the nails of the hand are broad and flat. I have often seen a man use his great toe to pick up an object off the ground, and flexing the leg bring the object to his hand. When journeying through the bush with a caravan it is very interesting to notice how the native uses the great toe to aid him in climbing a steep hill. The sexual apparatus is very highly developed, especially in the males. The women are the [481]

[1] It has not been possible for me to devote the time needed for a detailed study of Fang crania. The few Bulu and Fang skulls I have had opportunity for examining presented very little, if any, different characteristics. The skulls I examined were decidedly prognathous, but not large.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

idea as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* of the Fang, the *tata* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sekôme*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *biang* is called the *Biang Akamayong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *ngangan* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *mbôa* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *ngangan* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feticio, is *Biang* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *ngangan* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, horns, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins, nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *ngangan* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which constitute his or her *Eki*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gaboon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also held superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the